

86TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES } REPORT  
2d Session } No. 1562

## RESTORATION OF FREEDOM TO CAPTIVE NATIONS

MAY 2, 1960.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. ZABLOCKI, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

### REPORT

[To accompany H. Con. Res. 633]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 633) relating to restoration of freedom to captive nations, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the concurrent resolution do pass.

The amendments are as follows:

On page 2, amend the fourth clause of the preamble by striking out "of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,";

On page 3, line 4, strike out "urges" and insert in lieu thereof "expresses the hope that";

On page 3, line 5, strike out "to" and insert "will".

House Concurrent Resolution 633 was introduced by the Honorable Clement J. Zablocki on March 21, 1960, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The committee in executive session on April 29, 1960, considered this resolution and ordered it favorably reported, amended.

Resolutions identical with House Concurrent Resolution 633 were introduced by the following members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

Hon. Barratt O'Hara  
Hon. Harris B. McDowell, Jr.  
Hon. Walter H. Judd  
Hon. Marguerite Stitt Church  
Hon. Alvin M. Bentley

49009

## RESTORATION OF FREEDOM TO CAPTIVE NATIONS

Identical resolutions also were introduced by the following Members of the House of Representatives:

Hon. Roman C. Pucinski  
 Hon. Hugh J. Addonizio  
 Hon. Victor L. Anfuso  
 Hon. Emanuel Celler  
 Hon. Emilio Q. Daddario  
 Hon. Steven B. Derounian  
 Hon. Daniel J. Flood  
 Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr.  
 Hon. Daniel D. Rostenkowski  
 Hon. Herbert Zelenko  
 Hon. Alfred E. Santangelo  
 Hon. Gerald T. Flynn  
 Hon. Edward J. Derwinski  
 Hon. John D. Dingell  
 Hon. John E. Fogarty  
 Hon. Peter F. Mack  
 Hon. Seymour Halpern

Similar resolutions relating to the same subject were introduced by the Honorable Leonard Farbstein, Hon. Michael A. Feighan, and Hon. Philip J. Philbin and referred to the committee. Joint resolutions on this subject were also introduced by Hon. Barratt O'Hara, Hon. John H. Dent, and Hon. Roman C. Pucinski.

Included among sponsors who supported House Concurrent Resolution 633 were—

Hon. Wayne N. Aspinall  
 Hon. Harold D. Donohue  
 Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski  
 Hon. Aime J. Forand  
 Hon. Lester R. Johnson  
 Hon. Edna F. Kelly  
 Hon. Eugene J. Keogh  
 Hon. John C. Kluczynski  
 Hon. Melvin R. Laird  
 Hon. Thomas J. Lane  
 Hon. Alvin E. O'Konski  
 Hon. Melvin Price  
 Hon. Henry S. Reuss  
 Hon. John Lesinski  
 Hon. Thaddeus M. Machrowicz  
 Hon. Abraham J. Multer  
 Hon. William T. Murphy

*What the resolution does*

This resolution reaffirms the belief of the Congress that a choice of governments is an inalienable right of free people and calls for the respect of these fundamental freedoms and human rights of the people of the captive nations.

The resolution urges the President, at the forthcoming summit conference, to seek actively the restoration of these basic freedoms and rights which are now denied to the captive people of Eastern and Central Europe.

It is an important principle of our foreign policy that we continue to give hope to the millions of enslaved people of the captive nations

## RESTORATION OF FREEDOM TO CAPTIVE NATIONS

3

that some day, through peaceful means, they may regain their freedom and independence. The Department of State in their communication stated:

The Soviet Union, for its part, has consistently refused at past meetings of representatives of the Four Powers to enter upon any discussion of the situation in Eastern Europe and there have been no recent developments indicating any change in the Soviet attitude on this question \* \* \*.

It is essential, therefore, that this cardinal principle of our foreign policy be reiterated and reemphasized through adoption of this resolution by the House so as to lend strength to those within our Government charged with the conduct of foreign affairs as well as give reassurance and renewed courage to those affected by the injustices covered by the resolution.

*Approval by Department of State*

The committee received the views of the Department of State on this resolution, which were contained in the following letter signed by Assistant Secretary William B. Macomber, Jr.:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, April 19, 1960.

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,  
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Department of State appreciates the opportunity afforded by your letter of April 11, 1960, to comment on House Concurrent Resolution 633, relating to restoration of freedom to captive nations, which has been introduced by Representative Zablocki.

The Department regards the first and second operative paragraphs of the resolution as consistent with U.S. policy and germane to the present situation in Eastern Europe. However, it considers that the third operative paragraph, in its present form, would tend to circumscribe the freedom of action of the President and the executive branch of the U.S. Government with respect to foreign-policy planning and the conduct of diplomatic negotiations.

The Department believes that it is desirable to reaffirm our views on the situation in Eastern Europe to the Soviet leaders at every appropriate opportunity and, in consultation with their western colleagues, U.S. officials will be giving consideration to this question in connection with the summit conference.

It is evident that the principal items at the summit conference will be Germany and Berlin, disarmament, and East-West relations. Although the Department cannot anticipate in what concrete form or context other and related issues may arise, it seems possible that an appropriate opportunity might arise for consideration of an issue such as Eastern Europe during discussion of the general problem of East-West relations.

The Soviet Union, for its part, has consistently refused at past meetings of representatives of the Four Powers to enter upon any discussion of the situation in Eastern Europe and there have been no recent developments indicating any change in the Soviet attitude on this question. Nevertheless, the U.S. Government continues to look

## RESTORATION OF FREEDOM TO CAPTIVE NATIONS

upon the question of Eastern Europe as a basic international problem, the just solution of which would contribute immeasurably to the reduction of world tensions and to the establishment of a lasting peace.

The Department would have no objection to the resolution if it is confined to reaffirmation, in connection with the summit conference, of the support of the Congress for the restoration of the fundamental freedoms and basic human rights of the people of the captive nations.

In view of the urgency of this matter, the Department has not had an opportunity to obtain the customary clearance of this report from the Bureau of the Budget.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,  
*Assistant Secretary*  
 (For the Secretary of State).

The committee amended the third operative paragraph of the resolution to meet the point raised by the Department. The language of the third operative paragraph, as amended by the committee, is intended to reflect the gravity with which the Congress views the continued suppression of human rights and political freedoms in a number of formerly independent countries by urging that these matters be pursued in the forthcoming summit conference.

The committee deleted a reference in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, because the declaration has not been ratified by the United States.

*Reasons for the approval of House Concurrent Resolution 633, 86th Congress*

1. Throughout its history, as reflected in the Monroe Doctrine, Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, and other documents, the United States of America has stood firmly on the principle of self-determination, welcoming the enlargement of the area of freedom and self-government, and insisting on the inalienable right of the people of different nations to live under governments of their own choice.

2. During the early stages of World War II, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill signed an agreement which was subsequently endorsed by Premier Stalin on behalf of the Soviet Union. This agreement is known as the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941. In this document the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union pledged themselves to—

respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they (the three powers) wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

3. On December 1, 1943, at Teheran, the chiefs of state of the Big Powers signed a declaration stating:

We look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live free lives, untouched by tyranny, and according to their varying desires and their own conscience.

4. On February 11, 1945, the chiefs of state of the same three powers signed a declaration at Yalta, pledging that the—

three Governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in

## RESTORATION OF FREEDOM TO CAPTIVE NATIONS

5

Europe (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

5. In a special section of the Yalta agreement relating to Poland, the three powers pledged themselves to—

the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections, all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

6. In subsequent peace treaties of February 10, 1947 with Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria, signed by the three powers, specific provisions were inserted to protect and safeguard human rights and fundamental freedoms, including specifically freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public meeting.

7. These and other documents indicate plainly and forcibly that the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union had repeatedly pledged themselves, in writing, to secure to all persons in the currently captive nations the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms.

8. There exists, therefore, a clear obligation on the part of the United States and other signatories of those documents to (1) object publicly and energetically against the repeated and open violations of those pledges, and (2) to strive through all practical and peaceful means to see that those pledges are fulfilled.

9. Since the Soviet Union, a party to the above pledges, has repeatedly and forcibly participated in and assisted in the violation of those promises; and since the Soviet Union's Chief of State will attend the forthcoming summit meeting on May 16, it is entirely proper and necessary that the United States reaffirm its position on this issue.

#### *Conclusion*

In reaffirmation of the support of the Congress for the restoration of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of the captive nations the committee urges the prompt adoption by the the House of this resolution.

○